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A

# Time-Serving

# SPEECH,

Spoken Once In

# SEASON.

By a Worthy Member of Parliament.

And now thought Fit to be Reprinted, to prevent the Occasion of having it Respoken.

*LONDON*,

Printed in the Year. 1680.

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Printed in the Year. 1850.

# A TIME-SERVING SPEECH,

SPOKEN ONCE

# In Season, etc.

*Mr. SPEAKER*,

THis days Debate is but too clear a proof that we Engliſhmen are right Iſlanders, Variable and Mutable like the Air we live in. For (Sir) if that were not our temper, We ſhould not be now Diſputing, Whether after all thoſe hazards we have run, That Blood we have ſpilt, That Treaſure we have exhauſted, we ſhould not now ſit down, juſt where we did begin; and of our own accords ſubmit our ſelves to that Slavery, which we have not only ventured our Eſtates and Lives, but I wiſh I could not ſay, Our Souls and Conſciences, to throw off. What others (Sir) think of this Levity, I cannot tell, I mean thoſe that ſteer their Conſciences by occaſions, and cannot loſe the honour they never had: But truly (Sir) for my own part, I dare as little not declare it to be my Opinion, as others more prudential dare avow it to be theirs, That we are this day making good all the reproaches of our Enemies, owning of our ſelves Oppreſſors, Murderers, Regicides, Subverters of that which now we do not only acknowledge to have been a lawful Government; but by recalling it, confeſs it now to be the beſt: Which (Sir) if it be true, and that we now begin to ſee aright, I heartily wiſh, our eyes had been ſooner open; and for three Nations ſake, that we had purchaſed our Conviction at a cheaper rate. We might (Sir) in *Forty two*, have been what we thus contend to be in *Fifty five*; and our Conſciences have had much leſs to anſwer for to God, and our Reputations to the World.

But, Mr. *Speaker*, I wiſh with all my ſoul, I did ſtate our Caſe to you amiſs, and that it were the Queſtion only, Whether we would voluntarily relapſe into the Diſeaſe we were formerly poſſeſſed with, and of our own accords take up our old yoak, that we with wearing and cuſtom had made habitual and eaſie, and which (it may be) 'twas more our wantonneſs than our preſſure, that made us throw it off. But this (Sir) is not now the Queſtion: that which we deliberate, is not, Whether we will ſay we do not care to be free, we like our old Maſters, and will now be content to have our ears bored at the door poſts of their houſe, and ſo ſerve them for ever; But (Sir) as if we were contending for ſhame as well as ſervitude, we are carrying our *ears to be bored* at the doors of *another Houſe*: A Houſe (Sir) without Name, and therefore it is but congruous it ſhould conſiſt of Members without family: a Houſe that inverts the Order of Slavery, and ſubjects it to our Servants; and yet, in contradiction to Scripture, we do not only not think that ſubjection intolerable, but are now pleading for it. In a word, Sir, it is a Houſe of ſo incongruous and odious a compoſition and mixture, that certainly the grand Architect would never have ſo framed it, had it not been his deſign as well to ſhew to the world *the contempt he had of us*, as to demonſtrate *the power he had over us*.

Sir, That it may appear, that I intend not to be ſo prudent, (as far as my part is concerned) as to make a voluntary Reſignation of my Liberty and Honour to this excellent part of his late Highneſs his laſt Will and Teſtament, I ſhall crave, Sir, the leave to declare in a few particulars my Opinion of this Other Houſe: wherein I cannot but promiſe my ſelf to be favourably heard by ſome, but patiently heard by all: For thoſe Engliſhmen that are againſt this Houſe, will certainly with content hear the Reaſons why others are ſo too; thoſe Courtiers that are for it, give me evidence enough to think that in nature there is nothing which they cannot willingly endure.

Firſt, Sir, as to the Author and Framer of this Houſe of Peers; Let me put you in mind, it was He, that with reiterated Oaths, had often *ſworn to be true and faithful to the Government without it*: and not only ſworn ſo himſelf, but had been the chief Inſtrument both to draw and compel others to ſwear ſo too. So, Sir, that the Foundation of this Noble Fabrick was laid in Perjury, and was begun with the violation and contempt, as well of the Laws of God, as of the Nation. He, Sir, that called Monarchy *Antichriſtian* in another, and indeed made it ſo in himſelf: He that Voted a Houſe of Lords *dangerous and unneceſſary*, and really made it ſo in his Partiſans: He that with fraud and forte deprived you of your Liberty when he was living, and entailed Slavery upon you at his death: 'tis he, Sir, that hath left you theſe worthy Overſeers of that his laſt Will and Teſtament: Who, however they have behaved themſelves in other truſts, we may be confident they will endeavour faithfully to diſcharge themſelves in this. In a word, Sir, had this other Houſe no other fault but its Inſtitution and Author, I ſhould think that original ſin enough for its condemnation: For I am of their opinion that think, that for the good of example, all Acts and Monuments of Tyrants are to be expunged, and eraſed, that if poſſible their memory might be no longer liv'd than their Carcaſſes. And the truth is, their good Laws are of the number of their Snares, and but baſe Brokage for our liberty.

But, Sir, to impute to this Other Houſe no other faults but its own, you may pleaſe in the firſt place to conſider of the power which his Highneſs hath left it, according to that *humble Petition and Advice*, which he was pleaſed to give order to the Parliament to preſent unto him. For, Sir, as the Romans had Kings, ſo had his Highneſs Parliaments amongſt his Inſtruments of Slavery; and I hope, Sir, it will be no offence for me to pray that his Son may not have them ſo too. But, Sir, they have a *Negative Voice*, and all other circumſtances of that Arbitrary Power, which made the former Houſe intolerable: only the Dignity and Quality of the perſons themſelves is wanting, that our ſlavery may be accompanied with ignominy and affront. And now, Mr. *Speaker*, have we not glorioufly vindicated the Nations Liberty? have we not worthily employed our Blood and Treaſure to aboliſh that Power that was ſet over us by the Law, to have the ſame impoſed upon us without a Law? and after all that ſound and noiſe we have made in the world, of the Peoples Legiſlative Power, and of the Supremacy and Omnipotency of their Repreſentatives; we now ſee there is no more power left them, but what is put in the Ballance, and equalled by the power of a few Retainers of Tyranny, who are ſo far from being of the Peoples choice, that the moſt part of them are only known to the Nation by the Villanies and Miſchiefs they have committed in it.

In the next place, Sir, you may pleaſe to conſider that the perſons inveſted with this power, are all of them nominated and deſigned by the Lord Protector (for to ſay, *by him and his Council*, hath in effect no more diſtinction, than if one ſhould ſay, *by Oliver, and Cromwel.*) By this means the Protector himſelf, by his own and his Peers Negative, becomes in effect two of the three Eſtates; and by conſequence, is poſſeſſed of two parts of the Legiſlative Power. I think this can be a doubt to no man, that will but take the pains to read over that fair Catalogue of thoſe noble Lords: for certainly no man that reads their names, can poſſibly fancy for what other virtues or good qualities ſuch a compoſition ſhould be made choice of, but only the certainty of their compliance with whatſoever ſhould be enjoyned them by their *Creator*. (Pardon, Sir, that name, for 'tis properly appliable, where things are made of nothing.( Now, Sir, if in the former Government, encreaſe of Nobility was a grievance, becauſe the new Nobility, having freſh obligation to the Crown, were the eaſilier led to compliance with it: and if one of the

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main Reasons for exclusion of the Bishops out of the House of Lords, was because that they being of the Kings making, were in effect so many certain Votes for whatever the King had a mind to carry in that House: how much more assured will that inconvenience now be, when the Protector, that wants nothing of the King, but, in every sense the Title, shall not only make and nominate a Part, but of himself constitute the whole House? In a word, Sir, if our Liberty was endangered by the former House, we may give it lost in the other House; and it is in all respect as advantageous and secure for the Liberty of the Nation, which we come hither to redeem, to allow this power and notion to his Highness Officers, or Council, nay, his very Chaplains, as to his other Creatures and Partisans in his other House.

Now having considered, Sir, their Author, Power and Constitution, give me leave to make some few Observations, though but in general, of the persons themselves that are designed to be our Lords and Masters, and let us see what either the extraordinary quality or qualifications are of these egregious Legislators, which may justifie their choice, and prevail with the People to admit them, at least, into equal authority with the whole Representative Body of themselves. But what I shall speak, Sir, of their quality, or any thing else concerning them, I would be thought to speak with distinction, and to intend only of the Major Part. For I acknowledge, Mr. Speaker, the mixture of this Other House to be like the Compositions of Apothecaries, who are used to mix something of Relish, something grateful to the Taste, to qualifie their bitter Drugs, which else, perchance, would be immediately spit out, and never swallowed. So, Sir, His Highness, of deplorable memory to this Nation, to countenance as well the want of quality as honesty in the rest, hath nominated some, against whom there lies no other reproach, but only that Nomination; but not, Sir, out of any respect to their Qualities, or regard to their Virtues, but with regard to the no Quality, to the no Virtues of the rest: which truly, Mr. Speaker, if he had not done, we could easily have given a more express Name to his Other House, than he hath been pleased to do. For we know a House designed only for Beggars and Malefactors, is *a House of Correction*, and termed so by your Law. But, Mr. Speaker, setting those few persons aside, who, I hope, think the Nomination a disgrace, and the ever coming to sit there, much a greater: Can we without indignation think on the rest? He that's first in their Roll, a condemn'd Coward, one that out of fear and baseness did once what he could to betray your Liberties, and does now the same for gain. The second, a person of as little sence as honesty, preferred for no other reason but his no worth, his no Conscience; except that his cheating his Father of all he had, was thought a Virtue by him, who by sad experience, we find hath done as much for his Mother, his Country. The third, a Cavalier, a Presbyterian, an Independent; for a Republick, for a Protector, for every thing, for nothing, but only that one thing, *Money*. 'Twere endless to run through them all, to tell you, Sir, of their Lordships of seventeen pound Land a year of inheritance; of their Farmer Lordships, Dray-men Lordships, Cobler Lordships, without one foot of Land, but what the Blood of English Men hath been the price of; these, Sir, are to be our Rulers, these the Judges of our Lives and Fortunes; to these we are to stand bare, whilst their pageant stage Lordships daign to give us a Conference upon their Breeches. Mr. Speaker, we have already had too much experience, how unsupportable Servants are, when they become our Masters: all kind of Slavery is miserable in the account of all generous minds; but that which comes accompanied with Scorn and Contempt, stirs every Mans Indignation, and is indured by none, whom Nature does not intend for Slaves, as well as Fortune.

I say not this, Mr. Speaker, to revile any man with his meaness; for I never thought either the Malignity or Indulgence of Fortune, to be (with wise or just men) the grounds either of their ill or their good Opinion. Mr. Speaker, I blame not in these men the faults of their Fortune, any otherwise but as they make them their own: I object to you their poverty, because it is accompanied with ambition; I mind you of their Quality, because they themselves forget it. So that 'tis not the men I am angry with, but with their Lordships; not with Mr, *Barkstead*, or Mr. *Goaler* (Titles I could well allow him) but with *The Right Honourable, our singular good Lord and Goaler*: 'Tis this Incongruity, Mr. Speaker, I am displeased with.

So, Sir, that though we easily grant Poverty and Necessity to be no faults, yet we must allow them to be great Impediments in the way of Honour, and such as nothing but extraordinary Vertue and Merit can well remove. The Scripture reckons it among *Jeroboams* great faults, that *he made priests of the meanest of the people*; and sure it was none of the Vertues of our *Jeroboam* (who hath set up his Calves too, and would have our Tribes come up and worship them) that he observed the same method in making of Lords.

One of the few Requests the Portugals made to *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, when he got that Kingdom (as His late Highness did this) by an Army, was, *That he would not make Nobility contemptible, by advancing such to that Degree, whose quality or vertue could be no way thought to deserve it.* Nor have we formerly been less apprehensive of such inconveniences our selves; it was in *Ric.* 1's time, one of the Bishop of *Ely's* Accusations, that Castles and Forts of trust he did *Obscuris & ignotis hominibus tradere*, put in the hands of obscure and unknown men: but we, Mr. Speaker, to such a kind of men are delivering up the power of our Laws, and in that the power of all.

In the 17 *Edw.* 4. there past an Act of Parliament, for the degrading of *John Nevil* Marquess *Montague* and Duke of *Bedford*; the reason expressed in the Act, *Because he had not a Revenue sufficient for the maintaining of that Dignity*; to which was added, *That when men of mean birth are called to high Estate, and have no livelihood to support it, it induceth Briberies, Extortions, and all kinds of injustices that are followed by gain.* And in the Parliament of 2 *Carol.* the Peers in a petition against Scotish and Irish Titles, told the King, *That 'tis a Novelty without President, That men should possess Honours, where they possess nothing else; and that they should have a Vote in Parliament, where they have not a foot of Land.* But if it had been added, Sir, *Or have no Land but what is the purchase of their Villanies*, against how many of our new Peers had this been an important Objection? To conclude, Sir, it hath been a very just and reasonable care, amongst all Nations, not to render that despised and contemptible to the People, which is design'd for their Reverence, and their Awe: Which, Sir, bare and empty Title, without quality or virtue, never procured any man, any more than the Image in the Fable made the Ass adored that carried it.

After their quality, give me leave, Sir, to speak a word or two of their qualifications; which certainly ought in reason to carry some proportion with the employments they design themselves. The House of Lords, Sir, are our Kings Hereditary great Councils: they are the highest Court of Judicature; they have their part in Judging and Determining of the Reasons of making new Laws, and of abrogating old: From amongst them we take our great Officers of State; they are commonly our Generals at Land, and our Admirals at Sea: In conclusion, Sir, they are both of the Essence and Constitution of our old Government; and have besides, the greatest and noblest share in the Administration. Now certainly, Sir, to judge according to the Dictates of Reason, one would imagine some small Faculties and Endowments to be necessary for the discharging of such a Calling; and those such as are not usually acquired in shops and ware-houses, nor found by following the Plough: Now what other Academies most of their Lordships have been bred in, but their shops; what other Arts they have been versed in, but those which more require good Arms and good Shoulders, than good Heads, I think, Mr. Speaker, we are yet to be informed. Sir, we commit not the Education of our Children to ignorant and illiterate Masters; Nay, we trust not our very Horses to unskilful Grooms: I beseech you, Sir, let us think it belongs to Us to have some care into whose Hands We commit the management of the Common-wealth: and if we cannot have Persons of Birth and Fortune to be our Rulers, to whose quality we would willingly submit; I beseech you, Sir, for our Credits and Safeties sake, let us seek men (at least) of parts and education, to whose Abilities we may have some reason to give way. If, Sir, a Patient dies under a Physicians hand, the Law esteems that not a Felony, but a misfortune in the Physician; but if one that is no Physician undertakes the management of a Cure, and the Party miscarries; the Law makes the Emperique a Felon, and sure in all mens Opinion the Patient a Fool. To conclude, Sir, for great men to govern 'tis ordinary; for able men 'tis natural; Knaves many times come to it by Force and Necessity, and Fools sometimes by chance: but universal Choice and Election of Fools and Knaves for Government, was never yet made by any who were not themselves like those they chose.

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But methinks, Mr. *Speaker*, I ſee ready to riſe after me, ſome Gentleman that ſhall tell you the great ſervices that their new Lordſhips have done the Commonwealth; that ſhall extol their Valour, their Godlineſs, their Fidelity to the Cauſe; The Scripture too (no doubt) as 'tis to all purpoſes, ſhall be brought in to argue for them; and we ſhall hear of the *Wiſdom of the poor man that ſaved the City*, of the *not many wiſe, not many mighty*; Attributes I can no way deny to be due to their Lordſhips. Mr. Speaker, I ſhall be as forward as any man to declare their ſervices, and acknowledge them; though I might tell you, that the ſame honour is not purchaſed by the blood of an Enemy, and of a Citizen; that for Victories in Civil Wars, till our Armies march through the City, I have not read that the Conquerors have been ſo void of ſhame as to Triumph. *Ceſar*, not much more indulgent to his Country, than our late Protector, did not ſo much as write publick Letters of his Victory at *Pharſalia*, much leſs had days of Thankſgiving to his gods, and anniverſary Feaſts for being a proſperous Rebel, and given Juſtice and his Country the worſt.

But Sir, I leave this argument, and to be as good as my word, come to put you in mind of ſome of their ſervices, and the obligation you owe them for the ſame. To ſpeak nothing, Sir, of one of my Lords Commiſſioners valour at *Briſtol*, nor of another Noble Lords brave adventure at the Bear-Garden; I muſt tell you, Sir, that moſt of them have had the courage to do things, which (I may boldly ſay) few other Chriſtians durſt have ſo adventured their ſouls to have attempted: They have not only ſubdued their Enemies, but their Maſters that raiſed and maintained them; they have not only Conquered *Scotland* and *Ireland*, but Rebellious *England* too; and there ſuppreſt a Malignant Party of Magiſtrates and Laws. And that nothing ſhould be wanting to make them indeed complete Conquerors (without the help of Philoſophy) they have even conquered themſelves. All ſhame they have ſubdued, as perfectly as all Juſtice: the Oaths they have taken, they have as eaſily digeſted, as their old General could himſelf; Publick Covenants and Engagements, they have trampled under foot: In concluſion, ſo entire a Victory they have over themſelves, that their Conſciences are as much their ſervants, as, Mr. Speaker, we are.

But, Sir, give me leave to conclude with that which is more admirable than all this, and ſhews the confidence they have of themſelves and us: after having many times trampled on the Authority of the Houſe of Commons, and no leſs than five times diſſolved them, they hope for thoſe good ſervices to the Houſe of Commons, by the Houſe of Commons to be made a Houſe of Lords.

I have been over-long, Sir, for which I crave your pardon: therefore in a word I conclude. I beſeech you let us think it our duty to have a care of two things: Firſt, that Villanies be not encouraged with the rewards of Virtue: Secondly, that the Authority and Majeſty of the Government of this Nation be not defiled, and expoſed to contempt, by committing ſo conſiderable a part of it to perſons of as mean quality as parts.

The *Thebans* did not admit Merchants into Government, till they had left their Traffick ten years: ſure 'twould have been long before Coblers and Dray-men would have been allowed. If, Sir, the wiſdom of this Houſe ſhall find it neceſſary to begin where we left, and ſhall think we have been hitherto like the Prodigal, and that now when our neceſſities perſwade us, *i.e.* that we are almoſt brought to herd it with Swine, now 'tis high time to think of a return: Let us without more ado, without this motely mixture, even take our *Rulers as at the firſt*, ſo that we can be but reaſonably ſecured to avoid our *Counſellors as at the beginning*.

Give me leave, Sir, to releaſe your patience with a ſhort ſtory *Livy* tells us, There was a State in *Italy*, and Ariſtocracy, where the Nobility ſtretched their Prerogative too high, and preſumed a little too much upon the Peoples Liberty and Patience: whereupon the diſcontents were ſo general and ſo great, that they apparently tended to a diſſolution of Government, and the turning of all things into Anarchy and Confuſion. At the ſame time, beſides theſe diſtempers at home, there was a potent Enemy ready to fall upon them from abroad, that had been an overmatch for them at their beſt Union, but now in theſe diſorders, was like to find them very ready and very eaſie prey: a wiſe man, Sir, in the City, that did not at all approve of the Inſolency of the Nobility, and as little liked Popular tumults, bethought himſelf of this Stratagem, to couzen his Country into ſafety. Upon a

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pretence of Counsel, he procured the Nobility to meet altogether; which when they had done, he found a way to lock all the doors upon them; goes away himself, and takes the Keys with him: Then immediately he summons the People; tells them, that by a contrivance of his, he had taken all the Nobility in a Trap: That now was the time for them to be revenged upon them for all their Insolencies: That therefore they should immediately go along with him and dispatch them. Sir, the Officers of our Army after a Fast, could not be more ready for the Villany than this people were; and accordingly they made as much haste to the slaughter as their Lord Protector could desire them. But, Sir, this wise man I told you of, was their Lord Protector indeed: as soon as he had brought the people where the Parliament was sitting, and when they but expected the word to fall to the Butchery, and take their Heads: *Gentlemen*, says he, *Though I would not care how soon this work of Reformation were over, yet in this Ship of Commonwealth we must not throw the Steers-men over board, till we have provided others for the Helm: Let us consider before we take these men away, in what other hands we may more securely trust our Liberty, and the management of the Commonwealth.* And so he advised them before the putting down of the former, to bethink themselves of constituting an Other House: He begins and nominates one, a man highly cryed up in the Popular Faction, a confiding man, one of much zeal, little sense, and no quality: you may suppose him, Sir, a zealous Cobler; the people in conclusion murmured at this, and were loath their Fellow Mutineer, for no other virtue but mutining, should come to be advanced to be their Master, and by their looks and murmur sufficiently expressed the distaste they took at such a motion. Then he nominates another as mean a Mechanick as the former: you may imagine him, Sir, a bustling rude Dray-man, or the like. He was no sooner named, but some burst out a laughing, others grew angry and railed at him, and all detested and scorned him. Upon this a third was named for a Lordship, one of the same batch, and every way fit to sit with the other two. The people then fell into a confused laugh and noise, and enquired if such were Lords, who (by all the Gods) would be content to be the Commons?

Sir, Let me be bold (by the good leave of the Other House and yours) to ask the same Question? But Sir, to conclude this story, and with it I hope the Other House: when this wise man I told you of, perceived they were now sensible of the inconvenience and mischief they were running into, and saw that the pulling down their Rulers, would prove in the end, but the setting up of their servants: He thought them then prepared to hear Reason: and told them, *You see*, saith he, *That as bad as this Government is, we cannot, for any thing I see, agree upon a better: What then, if after this fright we have put our Nobility in, and the demonstration we have given them of our power, we try them once more, whether they will mend, and for the future behave themselves with more moderation?* That people, Mr. Speaker, were so wise as to comply with that wise Proposition, and to think it easier to mend their old Rulers, than to make New. And I wish, Mr. Speaker, we may be so wise to think so too.

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